

Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY KAMPALA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2107

C O N F I D E N T I A L KAMPALA 0916

LIMDIS

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: ASEC PFOR PINS UG US

SUBJECT: REASONS FOR HAVING AN EMBASSY

REF: KAMPALA 900

SUMMARY: THIS IS A PERSONAL NOTE BY THE UNDERSIGNED ANSWERING THE ARGUMENTS IN THE FINAL PARAGRAPH OF REFTTEL REGARDING FACTORS WHICH SHOULD BE WEIGHED IN REACHING A DECISION AS TO WHETHER OR NOT TO MAINTAIN A RESIDENT DIPLOMATIC MISSION IN THIS OR ANY COUNTRY. END SUMMARY.

1. "NO U. S. INTERESTS" WOULD BE A GOOD ARGUMENT FOR PAVING NO EMBASSY AT ALL, BUT "MINIMAL U. S. INTERESTS" IS MORE AN ARGUMENT FOR HAVING AN EMBASSY OF MINIMAL SIZE, TO ACCORD WITH THE JOB THE EMBASSY IS BEING ASKED TO PERFORM IN THAT COUNTRY. THE QUESTION OF WHETHER TO HAVE RESIDENT MISSIONS TO CARRY OUT DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES SHOULD BE DECIDED ON THE BASIS OF WEIGHING THE IMPORTANCE OF BOTH SIDES OF THE RELATIONSHIP. UGANDA SHOULD HAVE AN EMBASSY IN WASHINGTON BECAUSE THE UNITED STATES IS A GREAT POWER (BUT UGANDA DOES NOT NEED AN EMBASSY IN OUAGODOUGOU). THE U. S. NEEDS AN EMBASSY IN KAMPALA BECAUSE THE U. S., AS A GREAT POWER, HAS WORLD- WIDE INTERESTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES ENCOMPASSING THE SMALL POWERS AS WELL AS THE GREAT ONES. THE SIZE

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(BUT NOT THE EXISTENCE) OF THE MISSION SHOULD BE A FUNCTION OF THE IMPORTANCE OF THE RELATIONSHIP. IN THE CASE OF UGANDA THE SMALLEST VIABLE MISSION WOULD BE WHAT IS CALLED FOR.

2. " INABILITY TO FULFILL OBJECTIVES" IS A VERY GOOD ARGUMENT FOR ELIMINATING PROGRAMS SUCH AS THOSE OF THE PEACE CORPS, AID AND USIS, BUT NOT FOR ELIMINATING AN EMBASSY. IF THE LOCAL SITUATION IS A DIFFICULT ONE THERE MIGHT BE ALL THE MORE REASON TO MAINTAIN A RESIDENT MISSION. TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE, ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, VOLUNTEER, CULTURAL AND INFORMATIONAL PROGRAMS SHOULD EXIST ONLY WHERE THEY CAN BE CARRIED OUT EFFECTIVELY. BUT AN EMBASSY DOES NOT HAVE A " PROGRAM"; IT SIMPLY HAS A " JOB" AND IT SHOULD TRY TO PERFORM THIS JOB EVEN IF THE WORKING AND/ OR LIVING CONDITIONS ARE UNSATISFACTORY.

3. " DISAGREEMENT WITH A COUNTRY' S AIMS (OR METHODS)" IS NOT A GOOD ARGUMENT FOR REMOVING A DIPLOMATIC MISSION BUT RATHER A VERY GOOD ARGUMENT FOR MAINTAINING ONE. A RESIDENT DIPLOMATIC MISSION IS LESS ESSENTIAL IN A COUNTRY WITH WHICH WE ENJOY EXCELLENT RELATIONS AND WITH WHICH WE HAVE NON-GOVERNMENTAL RELATIONSHIPS OF A BROAD AND PROFOUND CHARACTER-- FOR EXAMPLE, IN TRADE, INFORMATION, EDUCATION, CULTURE, TOURISM AND IMMIGRATION-- THAN IT IS IN A COUNTRY WITH WHICH THIS VAST ARRAY OF PRIVATE RELATIONSHIPS DOES NOT EXIST. IT IS WITH ADVERSARIES, POTENTIAL ENEMIES EVEN, THAT IT IS ESSENTIAL TO HAVE AN ACTIVE DIPLOMACY, INCLUDING WHERE POSSIBLE A RESIDENT MISSION, IN ORDER TO MINIMIZE CONFLICT, INCREASE UNDERSTANDING AND HARMONIZE DIFFERENCES. THUS, DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS IN LONDON AND BONN ARE A GREAT CONVENIENCE, BUT IN MOSCOW AND PEKING THEY ARE A NECESSITY. AND, MERELY HAVING AN EMBASSY IN A COUNTRY (WITHOUT ACCOMPANYING ASSISTANCE AND EXCHANGE PROGRAMS) DOES NOT IMPLY APPROVAL OR ENCOURAGEMENT OF THE REGIME IN THE RECEIVING STATE.

4. THE ONLY REALLY SOUND REASON FOR WITHDRAWING OR NOT ESTABLISHING A RESIDENT MISSION IN A COUNTRY IS THAT LOCAL SECURITY CONDITIONS ARE SO BAD THAT OUR DIPLOMATS CANNOT FUNCTION SAFELY THERE. THIS IS A VERY MINIMUM REQUIREMENT FOR A DIPLOMATIC MISSION: THAT THROUGH THE COMBINED EFFORTS OF THE EMBASSY AND THE LOCAL AUTHORITIES CONDITIONS ARE CREATED AND MAINTAINED WHICH PERMIT THE ACCREDITED DIPLOMATS

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TO CARRY OUT THEIR LEGITIMATE TASKS IN A CLIMATE OF PERSONAL

SECURITY. IF SUCH CONDITIONS DO NOT EXIST THEN THE SENDING COUNTRY IS JUSTIFIED, AND PRUDENT, IN WITHDRAWING ITS MISSION.

5. THE QUESTION THEN, IN ADDRESSING THE PROBLEM IN UGANDA, IS WHETHER SECURITY CONDITIONS ARE SO BAD THAT A RESIDENT MISSION CANNOT FUNCTION IN SAFETY. IN THE OPINION OF THE UNDERSIGNED THEY ARE THAT BAD, AND THEY WILL REMAIN SO FOR AS LONG AS GENERAL AMIN' S REGIME STAYS IN POWER.
KEELEY

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